

Work and Leisure — A Changing Outlook

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WE ARE but a short remove from those crude conditions in which nearly everyone, including children, had to work most of the time in order to wring from the earth a bare and uncertain subsistence. In such circumstances work is a disagreeable necessity. We have made a theoretical virtue of that necessity and have tried to assure ourselves that there is some esoteric merit in labor for its own sake. But in practice nearly all of us are willing to forego treasures in heaven, and to let George do it. This confusion between our lip service to the sanctity of toil and our desire to escape its pains is one of the sources out of which has emerged our growing desire to guide youth toward a more satisfying adjustment as between work and leisure.

The pains and hardships of labor have until very recently stood out in sharp contrast to the joys of leisure as the privilege of the favored few, so that today most people do not know what to do with uncontrolled time when they get it. When they are released from the burden and responsibilities of inescapable toil, what do they do with themselves? They loaf, perhaps they dream. But they do not long remain at rest. Like children, adults cannot remain long just sitting, just lying still. People have to be doing. There are many ne'er-do-wells, but not many ne'er-do-nothings.

The traditional antithesis between work and play is essentially false to human nature. Its historical emergence and its persistence are related to social and economic conditions which were themselves perhaps unavoidable and so inescapable, but which were nevertheless fortuitous and transitory. When we observe children, we realize more clearly that the distinction between work and play lies not in the amount of exertion, nor in the difficulty of the effort, nor in the character of the outcome. The difference

lies in a state of mind. Play is effort voluntarily assumed and continued for fun. Work is activity directed or compelled by external necessity. The values and the pains of both are subjective.

Play is at many points random and meaningless; but it tends to organize into forms that derive from work. You see children imitating in their activities whatever it is that the adults are doing, from "keeping house" to "cops and robbers." They model both their activities and their objectives after the workaday world. Even organized games have always been modeled on the day's work—from fighting contests and the details of war to the skills and prowess of the peaceful arts (archery, wrestling, polo, and various athletic activities, dancing and musical contests, the rodeo, tree-chopping, yachting).

But if play arises out of work, it is equally true that work and vocations grow progressively out of play. For centuries our Western civilization derived its chief contributions to the improvement of the practical, as well as of the fine, arts from the inventiveness and initiative of the unrestrained activities of people who were doing things they liked to do—artists and scientists and putterers and dreamers in all fields and of all statures. Thoughtful men have always recognized that only in leisure can we cultivate those qualities and activities that are distinctly human—thinking, and making music, and giving body to our own dreams of beauty. It was for this reason that slavery was through many ages defended by the most humane. Even Aristotle could not imagine any way of insuring leisure—for the few, of course—except by means of slavery.

The machine is modern man's answer to Aristotle. But our deeply rooted traditions as to work and leisure have not permitted us to make full use of it. The conflicts that arose from the concentration of work in one part of the population and of leisure in another

have so far prevented our assimilation of the machine in a way to insure its potential benefits to all. It has indeed brought with it so much disaster that many of us are quite unable to make up our minds whether we most fervently hate our work, which drives all joy from life, or the machine, which threatens to destroy our work and so our claims upon life itself. At any rate we are today glorifying and denouncing the machine for precisely the same reason—*because the machine makes labor more and more superfluous.*

Working and Wage-Earning

THE PARADOX, however, is not in the machine, but in ourselves. First, instead of applying the new arts and the new sciences embodied in the machine directly to the lightening of human labor, directly to the enrichment of human life, we apply them as pacesetters for men, women, and children, to the unavoidable degradation of human labor. Men and women capable of work, though they are in theory now “free” as against owned slaves or indentured servants, are obliged to sell their work at rates determined by the competing machine; and that turns out to mean at rates unrelated to basic needs for human living. By separating work-performance, as an independently purchasable quantity, from the people who render service we leave nearly all adults striving to the utmost to flee from work, to insure at least for their children a presumably easier way of life.

The second paradox is the forced identification of work with employment, to the unending confusion of realities and values. Nearly everybody goes reluctantly to his daily work; but nearly anybody would be scared into a panic by a hint of losing his job. The two values are not the same; but because of this identification, masses are subjected to the spiritual unhappiness and degradation of hating their work while fearing to lose their jobs.

Yet most men and women have to work, whether they like it or not. That is in the nature of the world in which we live. Work is the only means we have of moving mountains, making bread, conveying messages. We have managed to mitigate many of the hardships of work, to increase its effectiveness and its productiveness. Through the division of labor and its refinement we have been able also to redistribute the work in such a way as to leave—on the average—a considerable margin of free time, which

is potentially leisure, or play time. But just as we have not yet succeeded in domesticating the machine to make it consistently serve human ends, we have not yet succeeded in assimilating these liberated hours and making them generally usable, not to say useful.

This we can see by glancing at the forms in which the gains are available. The added hours released from work are like the added years which improved sanitation and hygiene have filched from death: they are statistical averages which are so distributed that it is practically impossible to tell in advance who will get the benefits.

In general, we have shorter working days in industry and commerce, although uncounted thousands still have no margin whatever between working and sleeping. We have an extraordinary and significant gain in the millions of children who spend the larger part of their waking time in schools, rather than in farm labor or in factories. This gain is especially remarkable in the upper age levels of childhood, from fourteen years on. We have several million adults added to the professional and “white collar” occupations, many of whom find in their daily routines stimulations to effort bordering on play, however difficult their tasks, however responsible their attitudes. In these groups we have also substantial margins for vacations, as well as scattered days or hours of ease or of systematic leisure pursuits. The increased material gains are so distributed that an increasing number of men and women are able to withdraw at a comparatively early age into professional idleness. And we have finally the calamity of involuntary stagnation—eight, ten, twelve million unemployed men and women in forced idleness, having neither the option to work nor the freedom to play. We have not only more time but also more equipment, as, for instance, libraries, playgrounds, good roadways, and automobiles. But obviously a net gain in hours and in potential physical assets is not necessarily a net gain in true leisure.

Leisure or Idleness?

THIS is most apparent in the case of the unemployed. In England, where cash allowances from public funds during periods of unemployment have long been accepted as normal, the administration of the dole has been routinized to avoid so far as possible the humiliation of the workers, or to imply any reproach for the idleness generally recognized to be involuntary. On the dole riotous living

is impossible. But there is a subsistence of sorts; and there is an abundance of uncontrolled time. Opportunities for games, indoors and out, reading rooms, forums for discussion, art galleries, museums of science and industry are also available. But for two very good reasons these hours and facilities are not used as generally as might seem desirable. In the first place, too many people have not learned to make such use of their free time. Second and more serious is the fact that notwithstanding the general acceptance of the conditions that now enforce idleness, the traditional attitudes of the people toward work and toward leisure include a powerful element of self-reproach, a spiritual depression which inhibits the care-free participation in various recreational, educational, or cultural opportunities.

This condition is now in effect duplicated in our American cities; but it is generally much worse because those who are most articulate and who therefore presume to express our common mind are not altogether reconciled to public "relief" as anything other than a condescension of the righteous and prosperous to the improvident and unfortunate. There is, to be sure, rather widespread recognition of the need for using this time in terms of deeper human values. The planning of "made work," while itself a monstrous and impracticable conception, is at least a concession to the human need for that self-esteem which can maintain itself only as it justifies itself through work.

The Urge to Do and to Make

IN SHORT, we have on the one hand an inner need to flee from work as historically onerous and often degrading spiritually as well as physically; and we have on the other hand an equally pressing need to keep occupied, to do, to achieve, to accomplish. The distinctly human achievements, those doings that transcend what our beasts of burden, our slaves, and our machines can do, are outcomes of free play, in its sense of self-chosen activity, of imaginative creation, and are possible only with a degree of leisure.

As work becomes less pressing as well as less grinding we have to make the potential leisure more productive of human values by making it not only more generally accessible but also more generally acceptable and usable. General accessibility is a matter of economic intelligence and management. General acceptability and usability depend upon our educa-

tional processes, as they influence our attitudes from infancy onward.

While it will probably always remain necessary for people to get done a variety of things that cannot be made attractive or even indifferently agreeable, it is not necessary to pretend that there is special virtue in submitting to drudgery. On the other hand, human beings are capable of enduring a great deal of pain and hardship if they see clearly the advantages or the necessities served by such endurance. What is intolerable is the separation of the hardships from the useful ends which they are supposed to serve. In the case of slavery, for example, the burdens are carried by one portion of the population and the fruits are enjoyed by another. Or, as in the modern organization of jobs, the connection between the activity and its ultimate purposes is often totally obscured by the complexities of our industrial and commercial structure. For the worker there remain the required labor and the needed income; but for too few is there any satisfaction in the thing done as having significance in and of itself.

Conflicting Drives

WORSE still, from a social point of view, much of our economic effort is today so organized that the individual is often called upon to carry out activities that are deliberately designed to render a disservice. It is not merely that much of the world's "business" is in the hands of the unscrupulous and the ruthless. Under the most favorable circumstances people of good intent find themselves forced to carry out processes which they know to be contrary to human welfare. The destruction of "surplus" stocks of usable goods and raw materials, the systematic sabotage of the factory, furthered by employers as well as by workers, the forcing of sales without relation to the needs of the consumer, the withholding of essential information, to say nothing of direct misrepresentation, the constant pressure to manipulate prices instead of materials as a way to increase "values," and sundry other questionable practices have become more or less accepted as in the nature of "business." These are revolting to sensitive people, many of whom find themselves obliged to search constantly for other kinds of work in which they can devote themselves wholeheartedly to doing something useful. In other cases such tasks are accepted as under a compulsion which it is futile to combat, with the result that the activities and the purposes

are in constant conflict, even if the individual shuts his eyes and pretends to be unaware of the implications of his "work."

When we take into consideration the whole of our presentday world, we see that we have the resources and the skills and the talents to supply our material needs with comparatively little effort; but having reached this point after ages of privation and scarcity, we have not the courage to deal with our abundance in a light and generous mood. We still insist upon scrambling for the husks, like the pigs who put their feet in the trough.

The great need for everyone, children and adults—but at the moment most urgent for our adolescents, whether still in the schools or on the outside awaiting employment, whether from the homes of the poor

or from those of the privileged—is *something to do*. And this need we must recognize clearly as distinct from the need to earn money, or the more general need to increase production. It is a need on purely emotional and personal grounds. The individual has to be saved from poverty or privation, yes; and he has to be saved from madness. But he has first to be saved from a sense of helplessness and futility, from feeling inept and useless. It is for this reason that boys and girls, men and women, have to demand the chance *to work*—to make, to impress themselves upon the materials of the world and upon their fellow men. And it is for this reason also that they have to demand the chance *to play*—to make, to impress themselves upon the materials of the world and upon their fellowmen.

Children and Work

In our efforts to protect children, we must not cut them off from their natural participation in, and responsibility for, worth while activities.

LULA WRIGHT

CHILDREN like to work. They like to work when the work fits their ages and capacities—when it satisfies their normal craving for first hand experience and when it brings with it some measure of success. The younger ones especially, but all in some degree, are eager for activities demanding use of their muscles, and for experimentation with all kinds of materials and tools. Many of the most alluring of these activities are what adults would call *work*; to children they are just as likely to seem *play*. The activities fulfilling the most ideal conditions always contain some of the elements of play. This is true in maturity, as well as in youth.

Let a group of six-year-olds go to the kitchen at school or anywhere and make gingerbread boys. Then watch the striving for a chance to be dishwasher, or to wipe off the white oil-cloth tables, or to count out dishes and napkins for the group. Or watch the boy when he spills tempera paint on the floor and is given a pan of water and cloth to wipe it up. The zeal with which he scrubs, the many offers of help he refuses indicate his satisfaction.

The young child's span of attention is short. He doesn't want to stay with one job long, although the

length of time he sticks at some things is often surprising. Here is a small boy, for instance, who has been painting industriously for over an hour on a building of his own construction. An adult comes along and tries to pry him away from his job by saying, "You have worked long enough, Rutgers. You must be tired."

"Tired?" says Rutgers. "No, I'm happy!"

But as a rule the young child's time-span for persevering at one task is shorter. This is beneficent and for his own protection. Otherwise he might easily become physically and mentally exhausted. Ideally a period of activity should always be followed by one of quiescence and change, for all growth and development normally take place in a rhythmical sequence.

But while the interest is keen in the young boy or girl, be it in learning to dress oneself, to help shell peas, to set the table, to wash the dishes, to dig in the garden, to help paint, the desire for the activity should receive satisfaction. For it is then that the habit of performing that particular task may be most happily initiated, and so successfully built up later on an organized basis.

Make the most of the impetus and urge of first impulses toward useful performance, even though it requires valuable time and patience, even though small fingers are fumbling, muscular control inadequate, and understanding limited. Day after day give the child sufficient personal encouragement and help over the difficult places. Do not expect his progress to be uninterrupted; make allowances for the natural and inevitable set-backs. But consistently lead him to rely upon himself more and more as his ability increases. Help him to build up a method of work. In a businesslike way help the activity to become a part of the prescribed routine that is to be carried out with dispatch. Remember it is ever the parent's or teacher's *way of behaving* that impresses and has its effect, rather than what he says.

The weight of scientific opinion today leans heavily to the belief that the success or failure of the individual is largely determined by the early conditions of his home life. It is, then, essential that habits of cooperation and service to the group, with which the individual is associated, are initiated early in life. This is the time when wholesome habits of work and play have their greatest chance of development. They must be built up in a social atmosphere, if they are later to function in a larger social way. The newer psychology tells us that we learn only what we have a chance to practice.

Learning by Doing

THROUGH his increasing social sharing and adventuring under skilful guidance the child best develops into an understanding, thinking, socially responsible human being. It is in this way that interests and understanding in the social and physical sciences and in the arts and industries have their fullest chance of development. These firsthand experiences both at home and at school are not merely to be thought of as the child's privileges. They are his necessity if he is to attain his highest development as a member of the social group.

A child who is a cooperative member of a mentally alert family has set up certain habits, which have become more or less automatic, of engaging in particular activities. He needs a certain space he can call his own in order to feel any security about his possessions or to keep them in order. He can with some help dress and bathe himself and take care of his own possessions. Very likely the guidance he needed

in this learning process took more of his parents' time than they would have spent in doing these things for him. He has also been allowed some sharing and participation in household duties, and has been given some definite part in them. It may sometimes be that there is an actual need for his services; but even if this is not absolutely essential, he should have such experiences to help him feel that he is a cooperative part of the whole, with all of the compensations and restrictions this implies. Habits of good workmanship have been built up if the duties have been well suited to the abilities and age of the child. He may have had a share in watering the plants, feeding and caring for the pets, bringing in the milk bottle or newspaper, having certain definite jobs to do in the kitchen or dining room, keeping his own room straight, putting his toys away in order, and caring for his clothes.

Fitting the Task to the Child

THESE habits grow most successfully by assuming a willingness and desire on his part to cooperate, by a judicious amount of help, by avoiding nagging and scolding, by regular and consistent personal attention and supervision, by withholding privileges when he failed, and by seeing that satisfaction attended work well done. As he has been accustomed from infancy to following a schedule, the boy or girl has continued to accept the regular performance of certain duties as the natural course of events.

It is only as each stage of an individual's growth is allowed to develop normally and fully that the next one can hope to be complete and satisfying. But if wrong habits have been set up and there is lack of cooperation, still new ways of doing things can be inaugurated when there is understanding and perseverance on the part of the parents. For youth is amenable to change and longs to fulfil a satisfying part in life. Take the boys and girls into partnership. Make them feel that they are a necessary and important part of the family. Expect slow progress, but remember that equanimity, consistency, and regularity seldom fail in building up desirable changes in the young.

As children's abilities increase they can shoulder more complex tasks. Take, for instance, the business of cooking, which has a natural appeal for most youngsters. With a small amount of help, if they have had initial experience at home or school, six- or

seven-year-olds can provide a weekly breakfast, lunch, or supper. They can make toast, cook eggs and bacon, bake potatoes, make soup, make sandwiches, salad, apple sauce, stewed fruit, and custard. There are few things more enjoyable to a child, boy or girl, than cooking food he likes himself and sharing it with an appreciative group. A little later he can go into the kitchen by himself and make the muffins, cake, cookies, pudding, ice cream or other dessert as his contribution for the meal. As he approaches adolescence the preparing for entertainment of guests of his own is one of the most satisfying kinds of work. Regular assistance in yard, basement, kitchen, dining room, living room, library, hall, bedrooms, is a natural development to be expected from the child growing in a sense of responsibility to his group.

Home-Made Opportunities

HOMES have more to contribute toward the integrated development of its younger members than many of them realize; they cannot afford to push their responsibilities aside and say, "Conditions have changed. We can no longer offer our children opportunities for shared activities in the home."

It is true that under presentday urban living conditions such opportunities must be planned more definitely than formerly, and that more excursions outside of the home are necessary for increasing understanding of the home's relationship to the community. But there are homes, both poor and rich, which bear witness to the fact that opportunity for full and satisfying growth is an integral part of their everyday experience.

As time goes on more and more responsibility devolves upon the child in such a home. This comes most naturally when he sits in upon the family councils and his opinions are valued and listened to with respect. The sharing of responsibility comes most happily if the parents and children share common interests, both in work and play. If they adventure together on walks or with games, or if they share some worth while hobby—birds, stamps, boats, trains, gardens, automobiles, books, pictures, or pets—or if they belong to some club or organization together, they are on common ground. They have pleasant things to talk about at meal times which weld the individual member into his social group.

We often hear some interesting individual who has contributed to the advancement of ideas in the

world say, "The schools gave me very little. It was my life at home that started me out on my interests and fired the flame of enthusiasm which led me on with happy expectancy into new fields of interest."

Such activities and interests may have ranged from some phase of home making, mechanics, agriculture, art, literature, or science, to philosophy and political economy. But it was the social sharing in worth while work and play and the mental stimulus received at an early age, together with the growth of a feeling of assurance and confidence, that stimulated their eventual contribution to society.

On the other hand, the boy or girl dissociated from the real life and work of his family and left to untutored, unstimulating companions or servants is at a great disadvantage with his companions. A young girl with high mental rating was told last year by her high school adviser that she could not be recommended for the college to which she wished to go. The brilliant mother indignantly demanded the reason. She learned that her daughter had not the background which would make her acceptable to her chosen college. The daughter had not been allowed to share in any of the social or intellectual activities of her family. She had been left almost entirely to the care of paid individuals who were underprivileged in any of the social or cultural arts. She had lived in the same household with a socially active and brilliant family, but had not shared even their meal times. She had only the academic training received at school. She was comparatively unequipped socially, emotionally, and intellectually.

Expanding Horizons

EVER the colleges are recognizing the need of undergraduates for actual participation in the industries and professions of the world. Bennington College in Vermont, Antioch in Ohio, New College in New York City are all demanding certain periods of freedom from college courses for student participation in actual work. Their students go out to work in steel mills, museums, studios, department stores, hospitals, nursery schools, on farms and in forests. They make actual contacts and come up against working conditions. Then, if the experiences have been wisely chosen, they go back with fresh understanding and with increased zest to their classes.

Children and young people at every level should know the joys of sticking at a hard job until they

see it through to the goal of successful accomplishment. As their vision expands that goal may be progressively more distant. The little child "wants results" immediately; as he grows older, he can look further and further ahead, and in anticipating the joy of a job well done, he will be willing to accept a longer period of self-imposed work to attain his ends.

The attitudes of the adults in the family toward the workers who contribute directly to the household, inside or out—the cleaner, the delivery man, the cook, the maid, or toward whoever carries on

their work—all have a bearing on the growing child's disposition toward work. The same thing holds toward those who contribute to the work of the community. The candle-stick maker is no longer a real actor on the modern scene; but the butcher and the baker are—and so are the teacher, the librarian, the lecturer, the scientist, the policeman, and a host of others. If respect and appreciation for the worker are really felt by the parents, there will be an increasing respect for him on the part of the children, and a corresponding willingness and desire to share in worth while work.

The Child— His Parents and His School

A clear view of what education is for, and of the part guidance plays in it, is the first step toward well rounded training.

SIGMUND ADLER

TO ATTEMPT to talk about educational methods, policies, and aims in these days is flying directly into the face of severe criticism and misunderstanding. It is a curious fact that everybody, from the most ignorant to the wisest, knows precisely what schools ought to do. Various experiments, theories, and opinions have led to a confusion of thinking which is sending many of us to what John Hay so aptly calls "the falseness of extremes."

Though it is trite, it is necessary to repeat over and over again that schools exist for one purpose only—to make better citizens out of our boys and girls than we adults have been, and to assist parents in developing fine traits in their children. In other words, schools help the state on the one hand, and the parents on the other—and both must help the child. Any theory or system that does less than this ought to be scrapped. Notice that the schools are *assistants*; they are not the whole thing; they are a means to an end, not the end itself. It is precisely this babel of meanings that causes so much confusion.

In general, this attempt at helping parents to visualize certain situations a little more clearly will concern itself with young people of secondary school level. The term vocational guidance means what it says—*guidance*; it does not mean that there exists

in the school system an expert with such omniscience that he can predict with certainty an individual's future occupation. It does mean that an experienced adviser will assemble all known facts about a student—his traits, habits, mental capacities, weaknesses—as well as all information about occupations in general; and, in so far as it seems wise, he will lay these facts before the student and his parents, and then let him choose. That is guidance.

To plunge into definite situations, shall we say we are dealing with a young person who has always shown an aptitude for and an interest in a specific type of work? I shall use, as one illustration only, a certain young man whose ambition seemed to be the study of nature. I think I have never met anyone who knew more about it. He loved to be in the woods. Instead of remaining at home during the Christmas holidays he preferred to go to Maine and live in a cabin all alone. He made splendid collections of snakes, butterflies, and beetles. He knew trees and flowers. He understood what nature can do if one is careless. The clear assumption would have been that his life work was cut out for him; there was only one thing he ever *would* do. His parents were wise; they left him alone. Today, that same young man is a teacher of mathematics in a well known eastern university. Has he lost any-

thing? On the contrary, he has gained in having both a vocation and an authentic avocation. So also I have a banker friend who is a splendid artist.

Avoiding Lines of Least Resistance

ONE could mention many similar instances, which would prove two things: that a natural inclination is the line of least resistance toward an occupation; and, that the avocation might just as easily have become the chosen occupation. The task of both parents and school is not so much to urge a young person to follow an early interest as it is to arouse other interests to the end that the individual may develop into a better balanced human being. This enlargement of experience will have a tendency to prevent lop-sided development, even though the natural interest may still dominate.

From such evidence as this it is also obvious that an individual may be successful in any one of several occupations. If any further proof were needed, just see what the depression has done. Thousands of men were compelled to make radical vocational changes. The interesting thing is that most of them are as happy in the new job as they were in the old, though the process of change was often painful. The depression taught us another thing—that it is dangerous to put all our eggs in one basket. To train young people of today in just one occupation is almost more suicidal than it was in the past, due to the constant and rapid shift in business enterprises and methods. The task of the parents and the school is to study the *whole* child, and not merely one portion of him.

A very common mistake is made by parents in the assumption that when a child enters the secondary school he ought to know what he is going to be some day. Let us be practical. Until he entered school and for several years thereafter, what were his main interests? Just three—something to eat, a place to sleep, and a good time. The world, outside these three, does not exist to the average school child. Capital and labor may quarrel, nations may fight, politicians may ruin the state—what does it all mean to him? Nothing at all, so long as his elemental desires are fulfilled. He has had little or no experience in any occupation; he hardly knows what his father does for a living. How should he? Suddenly he goes to high school and is expected to choose one vocation, and one only, from a thousand possibilities. What experiences, knowledge, or interest has he had that would even approximate the

experience needed to make a wise choice?

I would say most emphatically to parents, "Forget it! Don't mention the subject!"

But if the young person should indicate special interest I would say to him, "That's fine; but be the best you can be!"

For, remember, there is hardly an occupation that someone does not enjoy, and the pleasure of a job well done may be your child's too.

This brings us inevitably to the problems of the majority of young people who don't know what they want to do even though they may be in college, or may have finished college. Should not the school have been the agent of discovery so that these young people will not waste any time in their preparation? It would be a comparatively simple problem if parents and others could determine what they mean by "waste of time." I think they mean something like this: If John is some day to determine that he ought to be an accountant, then why, for example, should he study Latin, or history, or science? Why waste his time on a subject which has no practical relationship to this occupation?

But we are not living in a world of accountants; we are living in a world filled with people of varying interests. The more intelligently John can meet these people the more will he enjoy his job as an accountant. The task for the school is, therefore, not to develop an accountant, but to develop an all round personality. Let the technical school develop specific skills or interests; but allow the general school to lay a foundation of character, clear thinking, poise, combined with a wide knowledge of various subjects. Who will then say the time so spent is wasted?

No Two Alike

IF THIS is kept in mind, two facts must be apparent: There is constant need to recognize individual differences. Parents must be aware that no two children within any one family are alike in their various traits. How much greater, then, are differences in a school among children from different parents. On the one hand, parents should not expect precisely similar results from their own children, and, on the other hand, the school must be able to meet the problems of the many differences between children with different backgrounds. Guidance is one of the means by which an attempt is made to solve in a scientific manner these problems, and parents should seek the assistance it offers.

The second fact is that every individual has a right

to make his own choices. Neither the wise parent nor the wise counselor will choose for a child. Yet many are the tragedies because of failure to recognize this simple principle. We have no more right to choose a vocation or an avocation for another than we have to select a husband or a wife. Family pride frequently blinds parents to fundamental considerations. I think of one man who insisted that his daughter become a nurse. She wished to go to college to prepare for another occupation, but he refused to pay her college expenses. The upshot of it all was that she went to college, but without assistance from home.

In other words, the non-technical school must first develop powers of concentrated effort, bring out latent powers, strengthen obvious powers, modify undesirable powers. The school can do this better than can the home because it has certain tools—studies, tests, and activities—and because schools have experts whose life study has been devoted to just such situations, precisely as the hospital has its experts to work along other lines.

Dangers of Specialization

I MUST warn against too early specialization. It is impossible to lay down general rules as to the exact age at which specialized vocational training should begin. Every individual presents a complete history in himself, and no rule can be made to cover everyone. Let us illustrate. Some years ago almost every boy wished to be either an electrician or an electrical engineer. Suppose we had taken each boy at his word and had let him begin immediately a specialized preparation for his very honestly expressed ambition. We didn't; but we didn't do anything else either. The fact is that very few of these boys actually did go into the electrical industry. Today boys express a similar desire for some share in the aviation industry. Shall we specialize immediately and get them ready for it? Of course not. But we differ from former days in that we study the boy and his qualifications before attempting to arrive at some conclusion.

Because of the changing trend in our economic life and our vocational activities, two other needs appear on youth's horizon—first, the need for a general training; second, the need for training in constructive leisure time activity. Since the majority of young pupils do not go to college, the secondary school must provide a foundation for their future

work—not specialized skills, but rather a “culture” in which is included a knowledge of economics, government, practical politics, psychology, sociology, and related subjects. The mechanization of all business makes this imperative. For those who wish to enter a trade these are equally necessary, either as preliminary or concurrent studies. Even such a subject as bookkeeping is today not as essential as it was formerly because of the introduction of machines. It is impossible to go into all the details, but again, changing conditions indicate the need for wise guidance.

Toward All-Round Education

BECAUSE of the increasingly shorter working week, it seems likely that most people will have much more leisure. “The devil has work for idle hands to do” is still figuratively true, even though we may no longer believe in the devil. One of the greatest constructive jobs of the school is to provide activities and curricula that will prepare young people to use surplus time to their own advantage. Either society must spend its money for education in the use of leisure, or it will spend as much money, or more, to provide housing and supervision in corrective institutions. What may have been fads or frills at one time are today absolute necessities for the preservation of sane and normal living. Music, art, manual training of all sorts, dramatics, and athletics for all should be integral parts of a school program, and not secondary afterthoughts. The public school is peculiarly adapted for just such a program, and the part guidance should play in it is to fit each individual into one or more of these activities.

In addition, every parent should insist that the community in which he lives provide, at community expense, theaters, libraries, museums, recreation centers, and other opportunities for healthful living. The school should lay the foundations for the enjoyment of these opportunities; the community should provide them. In other words, the home, the school, the town, and the state must work together for the common good. If they do not, each will fall separately.

It should be remembered by parents and the counselor that the school exists also for the purpose of teaching subjects, and the student is there to learn these subjects. As in the selection of an individual's vocation, so in his studies, care must, of course, be taken that an individual does not take subjects be-

yond his mental capacity. But it should be clearly recognized that everyone has the ability to do his best within the limits of his mental and physical capacity. The school and the parents should demand no less than that best. I know there is much agitation these days about changing the curriculum content; but no matter what may be substituted, neither society as a whole, nor the individual, can afford to do less than to bring into action, in one form or another, *the* supreme effort. Change the

curriculum wherever and however it needs to be done; but character development never came by an easy road. It comes by conquering difficulties, be they what they may. Individual differences must be taken into account; theories of teaching have changed and must continue to change; for treatment of subject matter is an evolutionary process. But through all this evolution run two reasons for the existence of the school—the acquiring of specific knowledge and the training and development of character.

Vocational Testing

Psychological tests offer no magical insight into the child's future; but with certain other devices, they make useful guides toward profitable lines of study and of occupational experiment.

DONALD G. PATERSON

CHOICE of work opportunities should be based on knowledge of the individual's abilities, aptitudes, and interests in relation to the various occupations found in modern life. This formulation of the problem seems simple, straightforward, and definite.

But how are we to determine the abilities, aptitudes, and fundamental interests of John Jones, or Sam Smith, or Doris Davis? And who knows the exact amounts of the qualities requisite for success in the various occupations? This approach suggests that the problem is complex; in the present state of knowledge of people and of jobs it is baffling.

The vocational psychologist is aware of the complexities, the uncertainties, and the pitfalls confronting the counselor who would attempt to aid John Jones, or Sam Smith, or Doris Davis in making occupational choices. He knows there are no infallible short cuts. Furthermore, he knows that fortune telling, astrology, palmistry, graphology, phrenology, physiognomy, numerology, and similar pseudo-scientific systems of character analysis are heavily freighted with error. The use of such short cuts he shuns, as likely to give false information and misguidance.

The vocational psychologist knows also that vocational tests are not sufficiently reliable and accurate to warrant wholesale application. Does this mean

that the problem of vocational guidance is insoluble, and that nothing can or should be done about it?

The answer is an emphatic "No!" On the positive side, the answer demands a fundamental reorganization of our educational objectives. As Ben D. Wood puts it, schools must become less concerned with *teaching* John Jones and more concerned with *learning* John Jones. In other words, a larger and larger share of the time, energy, money, and professional skill must be devoted to the task of diagnosing John Jones. Frantic attempts to force each child to attain an imaginary standard in a variety of school subjects must give way to the search for and the intensive cultivation of those traits, abilities, and talents that appear to be relatively outstanding in each individual.

Schools can now be found where this emphasis on the individual is replacing the traditional preoccupation with subject matter standards. In such schools, provision is made whereby each child may build a cumulative record of achievement for himself. These cumulative records go far beyond the ordinary "report card." Adequate space is provided for recording information concerning all aspects of the growth and development of the individual. This involves the annual recording of vocational choices, work experiences, health status, physical measurements, IQ, extracurricular activities (athletic, literary, artis-

tic, musical, social), family conditions, specific achievements, ratings on personality traits, marks in school subjects, objective test records of achievement in school subjects as a corrective of the errors inherent in teachers' marks, range of information, knowledge of current affairs, and records of performance in standard vocational tests.

The annual recording of such evidences of growth makes possible a series of diagnoses, each tentative and subject to revision in the light of subsequent experience. It places, furthermore, an increasingly heavy burden on educational administrators, because the increasing data require increased study of each child to permit interpretations or educational prescriptions which will be significant for the individual.

Testing as an Educational Tool

VOCATIONAL testing can become really worth while only when it is tied up with such an individualized educational guidance program. Note, too, that vocational testing is here conceived to be an annual affair which contributes information to the accumulated mass of evidence regarding the abilities, aptitudes, and fundamental interests of each child. One should also emphasize that such testing requires the services of a trained psychometrician, a person trained in university graduate schools of psychology to administer and interpret a wide variety of psychological tests and measurements.

The need for special training and experience for service of this sort grows with each passing year because our research laboratories are constantly producing new and improved devices for diagnosing the individual. Standard intelligence tests, individual tests like the Stanford-Binet or group tests of abstract intellect like the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability, when used in conjunction with a reliable record of academic achievement and progress, permit surprisingly accurate predictions of subsequent educational attainment. Thorndike has shown that, by the time a child is fourteen years of age, it is possible to determine the likelihood of future success or failure in preparing for the major professions. Tests of intellect need to be supplemented by educational achievement tests in a variety of school subjects, both academic and vocational. The use of aptitude tests is likewise now possible and may contribute additional information regarding possible special talents. Such tests include those of musical talent, artistic ability, clerical aptitude, motor agility, mechanical ability, and those eye-hand coordinations commonly referred

to as the manipulative dexterities. Vocational interest tests are also available, although present knowledge suggests that the usefulness of such tests is largely restricted to individuals of college age. Experimental use of vocational interest tests during the high school years will soon reveal the extent to which results obtained at this age level may be utilized.

Looking to the Future

SO MUCH for our modern ways and means of individual diagnosis as a continuous function throughout the school life of the individual. What about knowledge of the qualities needed for success in actual occupations below the level of the major professions? Unfortunately, knowledge is still woefully inadequate. Here and there serious research studies are being made of the qualities that characterize successful workers in typical groups of occupations. The United States Civil Service Commission is leading the way in its analyses of governmental occupations. Research divisions in a few industrial organizations are contributing important data. The Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute developed tentative occupational testing norms and standards for a few occupations; and now the United States Employment Service is undertaking a comprehensive research program designed to establish a more adequate system of job classification based upon standards attained by successful workers. These approaches and others hold the promise of rapid progress.

In all of this work school authorities, school psychologists, governmental research experts, and business leaders must join forces to the end that a unified and coordinated system of educational and occupational guidance can be developed. Vigorous research in vocational testing in the schools, and in business and industry, will facilitate the development of this type of scientific guidance.

The development of an adequate system of governmentally operated employment centers for youth and adults is needed as an institutional link between the schools and business and industry. The New Deal is committed to this program, and it is encouraging to note that research and guidance services are being emphasized in the organization of these new governmental employment agencies. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, is largely responsible for this recent and significant program.

Where does the parent fit into this picture? Is the parent's contribution to be confined to the passive

role of supplying boys and girls for experiments in educational and vocational testing? Or can parents actively strive to obtain the advantages of individualized educational guidance for their children?

Parents can inquire of school authorities regarding the extent to which provision is being made to individualize mass education. Does the school utilize a comprehensive cumulative record for each child, a record that follows the child whenever he transfers from one school or one educational level to another? Does the school employ a school psychologist, a psychometrician, a vocational psychologist? Does the school utilize the services of such agencies as the National Occupational Conference, the National Committee on Mental Hygiene, the Psychological Corporation, the Personnel Research Federation, the Committee on Cooperative Testing of the American Council on Education, the Educational Records Bureau, the Educational Research Bureaus in various universities? Does the school system support a Child Guidance Clinic? Does the school have a Department of Guidance and Student Personnel, staffed by persons skilled in the modern techniques of individual diagnosis? Does the school provide appropriate courses of study for high school boys and girls who are not planning to enter college? Does the school plan its program in terms of the actual occupational opportunities and needs in its locale? Does the school encourage youngsters to make educational plans on the basis of "white col-

lar" aims and ambitions, even for individuals in whom the requisite abilities, aptitudes, and fundamental interests may be lacking? Does the school review the child's progress periodically, and in consultation with parent and child attempt to formulate provisional plans based on all available knowledge?

These are questions that a parent can put to the school and, in so doing, can aid in diverting the attention of school administrators from questions of building, equipment, and standard curricula to the far more important question of the abilities, aptitudes, and interests of each growing and developing child committed to its care.

It should be clear that vocational testing is no panacea for occupational maladjustment. Furthermore, it must be evident that an irrevocable vocational decision should never be made for, or by, a given child on the basis of vocational tests given at a particular time. These tests are to be considered in conjunction with all available pertinent information. They should be regarded merely as more or less satisfactory devices for contributing more or less useful bits of information about a particular child, youth, or adult. Extravagant hopes are foolish, and extravagant fears block progress. The important point to keep in mind is the necessity of steadily advancing in the direction of an educational, social, and economic system which regards as paramount the maximum development and utilization of each individual's potential assets.

Parents' Attitudes and the Child's Future

Parents were the first vocational counselors; and no matter how unpredictable the future, they remain the most potent.

BERTHE GOODKIND AND ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN

VOCATIONAL guidance is supposed to be a new idea, as ideas go. It dawned upon industry and education only when the human waste and misfits of an industrial society finally became too flagrant to be longer ignored. But it is not a new idea in family life. Indeed, until comparatively recent times, the family was the framework of all vocational choice.

As the royal family had its heirs, so also had the peasant family; and both "vocations" were equally inescapable. Younger sons of gentleness could enter only such socially acceptable professions as the army or the church; sons of commoners were apprenticed in early youth to the blacksmith, or the draper, or what-not. For daughters the alternatives were even narrower; beyond marriage, the paternal fireside, and

the cloister, they faced a barren and forbidding wilderness. Even in this "Land of the Free" only the unusually gifted or the incorrigible escaped the family vocational pattern, until the natural wealth of a new continent and its apparently limitless industrial opportunities opened undreamed of vistas before the ambitious of all social ranks. At length, the family's hold upon the future of its younger members was thus weakened; but it has never been destroyed.

Even today it is fairly easy for anyone to make an abstract theory to fit a particular preconception as to what parents *ought* to do about their children's vocational future. But these abstract *musts* would no longer agree; they would, on the contrary, range all the way from the traditionalist's insistence on the parents' duty to bend the twig to the family pattern, to the behaviorist's insistence that every child is a plastic and unpredictable changeling who may turn out to be anything from bank president to racketeer. What is more, the attempt to paint a realistic picture of the influence which presentday parents actually do exert upon their children's future occupation is an entirely different—and more difficult—matter.

Children of Middletown

HERE is a machine-tender and his wife who have brought up a large family in the setting characterized by *Main Street* and *Middletown*. Although neither of them had much choice of life work, they have never felt that this was a serious loss. As a young man, the father went out into the world—a relatively limited world—to look for work. Jobs were not made to fit the men who labored at them, but to serve the economic needs of "business." Like most people, he had neither special inherent gifts nor limitations; but by trial and error he found work to do, and he has done it for twenty years. His wife accepted the traditional job of mother and home-maker with even less question or emotional resistance. She took for granted that here were certain things that were hers to do, and she did them with whatever powers she could command.

They have raised a family and they have been on the whole content, until in recent years short working hours, layoffs, and the ever-present fear of unemployment have threatened their small security. Of the world beyond Middletown they hardly think, except that something, somewhere, is making jobs scarcer and more precarious. They realize that their children may have a "tough time," but since in their ex-

perience the younger generation has always started at scratch, even this prospect is not without precedent. They have fed and clothed and loved their children, brought them up to be "good," and expected them to reach self-reliance at an early age. For weal or woe, the children have known merely that their father was on the job (or, in recent years, laid off a job). They have seen him return home, take part in the family program for the rest of the waking hours, be that listening in on the radio or taking the family to the movies. This, as a rule, completes the picture.

Beyond it these parents have not "conditioned" their children toward any vocation. The boy or girl who grows up in such a home is not called on to follow in his father's footsteps, or to uphold any family tradition. He has everything—and nothing—to choose from. Potentially the world is his. But, as with his father, so with him: a drive toward any given line of accomplishment depends not only on capacity but also on the social-economic setting. Unless he is possessed of unusual endowments, or has some opportunity for special guidance in school or elsewhere, he, like his elders, will some day go out and find himself *a* job—if he can.

Contrast with this the vocational "conditioning" in a home where a particular interest or profession is the outstanding motif of adult life. The father who has been successful in medicine, law, architecture, or any other highly specialized and intellectual field, is predisposed to see his children's future only in terms of his own past. Whether he is the latest in a long line of professional people, or whether he has achieved eminence wholly through his own efforts, such a man inevitably stamps his home atmosphere in his special professional mold.

Doubtful Privileges

THIS may have advantages, but it also has dangers; like many good things, too much of it is self-defeating. We have all known homes where the social life of the entire family is focused tensely around the father's interest, where father's study is considered the *sanctum sanctorum* which the household approaches on tiptoe, in awe and reverence of the profession lodged within. Mothers, as well as fathers, may overweight the values of a particular calling or profession. The woman who desperately wished to be a doctor and has never become resigned to her lack of opportunity, the woman who gave up

a promising musical career to marry—these and many like them too often look to their children to realize their own dreams.

What happens to children who grow up in such an atmosphere of tiptoeing respect or of unfulfilled desire? Again generalizations are meaningless, but one "family portrait" may suggest some of the possibilities. In this case the father was a man who, by virtue of his mental equipment, perseverance, and strength of character, had risen to heights which commanded not only the respect of his legal colleagues but also the gratitude of the world for his social and philanthropic activities. His devoted, self-effacing wife, their two daughters and their son, were known everywhere as "the family of Mr. S——, the famous lawyer." As his satellites they shone in a bright but reflected glory which quite obscured whatever light they might have had in their own right.

For many years the family seemed to respond to the father's masterful hand with the same willing efficiency and easy success which marked his public life. The children went to the "best schools," and at home they were sufficiently "old-fashioned" to be seldom seen and even more infrequently heard.

His eminent friends were frequent visitors in his impressive home and it was the scene of many important social functions. But not even as the children grew into adolescence were their school friends encouraged to run in; and a children's party or a young folks' dance was unheard of.

Danger Signals Ahead

AS THE children grew older it still seemed as easy to carry out a preconceived plan in the simple business of child training as in the intricate business of legal technicalities. His son had, of course, been destined to follow the law. But though the boy had a good enough mind, he had a slight speech difficulty, aggravated by his shyness, and his lack of the aggressive attack on life which characterized the father. It was the elder daughter who "took after" him; he privately regretted that she was not the male heir to all his ambitions. And when, in her sophomore year in college, she announced her intention of studying law, her father gave her his unqualified support. In due course, she was graduated with honors and passed her bar examinations. Meantime the son, too, had entered law school, and the younger daughter, about to leave a finishing school,

was apparently thrilled over the prospect of her formal début into society.

Then things began to happen; within less than a year the whole family structure was shaken to its very foundations. The lawyer-daughter began taking part in a case involving a labor dispute—and defended the wrong side. To her father's outraged demand that she withdraw she replied with open defiance and left home. This blow had only just fallen when the younger daughter made a runaway marriage with a young man of whom her father violently disapproved. She too was cut off, and only the disappointing son remained. The story of these three "highly privileged" children ends with the older daughter changing her name and throwing herself passionately into a soap-box career of radical propaganda, the younger daughter engrossed in raising a family on limited means, and the son, increasingly retiring and uncommunicative, doing a routine research job for a large legal firm.

Looking Beneath the Surface

FORTUNATELY, only a few homes end in such exaggerated conflicts. But its very extremes serve to illustrate the possible dangers into which professional worship and personal blindness may lead parents. When children who grow up under the pressure of ill-considered ambition fail to measure up to the family standards their parents often feel a peculiarly bitter disappointment and resentment. Have they not given their sons and daughters every advantage? It is true that in many self-evident ways this claim is justified. Such a home provides the necessary economic backing for both highways and byways in education. It provides cultural opportunities. Its social atmosphere is broadening and enlightening. Where, then, have the parents failed?

They have failed to realize that too much guidance is as cramping as too little. The child who is left to grow like a roadside weed is handicapped; but is hothouse forcing any less a handicap? It is too trite to say that "money isn't everything;" but if growing up in a "privileged" home is to be a real privilege, the parents must be sufficiently free in their own lives to view their children's lives objectively. Children are not extensions of their parents' personalities; they are new, and, to a certain extent, unpredictable human beings, each with his individual limitations and his individual gifts and interests.

Suppose, then, that we, as parents, realize that our

children must be guided in line with their own needs rather than with our desires, what can we do—the world being what it is today? How can we guide them, when we ourselves are no longer so sure of the way? Shall we turn the responsibility of guidance over to the experts in school, college, or industry who know more than we do about the whole problem, and supposedly about our children as well? But at best these experts have only a patch-work picture of our children. It is true that their techniques for measuring various capacities and characteristics are increasingly accurate and valuable. Yet the most experienced of them are the first to admit that without the continuing background of parental influence their guidance is not only incomplete, but also likely to be ineffective. We parents cannot escape, even if we would; for in respect to vocation as to all else that really matters, what parents do *not* do weighs as heavily as what they do.

As long as family life remains a social, as well as a biological, relationship, parents will find themselves cast in the role of vocational counselors. The responsibility remains even when the old rules which governed it are no longer tolerable or realistic. Though we have no new rules, and perhaps may never again achieve the certainty of our ancestors, there are certain questions which, if we can answer them honestly, may help us to achieve some measure of perspective, and perhaps of wisdom.

Some Questions for Parents

FIRST—How well do we really know our children? Have we a fairly clear picture of their limitations and their potentialities—physical, intellectual, and emotional? If they have unusual gifts which should carry them where we cannot follow, are we willing to let them go? If their abilities lie in a direction which is more “humble” than the family pattern, are we willing to let their happiness come before our ambition? Do we realize that accepting their limitations means the very opposite of accepting for them a life limited in happiness and the satisfaction of work well done? We know—as who else can?—their strengths; we should know too that a rich life can be theirs on their own level, whatever that may be. In short, can we accept what they offer, and open up for them every opportunity for realizing their own best powers?

Since our attitude toward our children is dependent upon our attitudes toward ourselves and toward the

world, these are of secondary importance only in the sense that they form the background, rather than the immediate issue.

As to our personal life, what terms have we made with it? If we have been successful in a worldly sense, how do we evaluate our own achievements? If we have been failures or undistinguished in the eyes of the world, what have we made of these experiences in the inner texture of our lives? What adjustment have we made to our own sexual role, not only in the more specific sense, but also in our attitude toward “man’s place” and “woman’s place” in the scheme of daily life? Are our own conflicts sufficiently resolved so that we can let our daughters grow into womanly women, and our sons into manly men? What have been our goals in life? Having striven toward them, do we really think they are worthy—sufficiently worthy to pass on to our children?

As to the outside world, just how clearly do we see the issues with which it now confronts us? What is our attitude toward our own readjustments in these times of change? How do our own experiences and point of view affect our estimate of our sons’ and daughters’ future? How much do we know, or can we find out, about vocational trends? Are we aware of the startling changes in relation to vocations that are becoming obsolescent and to those that may open up within our children’s lives? What do we think of the “new leisure” as a probable factor in our children’s lives? How much do we know, or can we find out, about a variety of educational experiences, both in the conventional educational system and elsewhere? How open minded and how ingenious can we and our children be in making the most of whatever educational and vocational opportunities may be available?

The Right to “Be Yourself”

FOR many of us who are now parents, the awakening from the American dream in which every boy might legitimately hope to be President has been recent and rude. For our children the reality may be no less worthy than the dream, if it offers every boy and girl a chance to *be himself*. As parents we cannot afford to harbor any illusions that this will be easy for them to achieve; but neither can we afford to abdicate our responsibility to help them with our utmost resources of experience, understanding, and unprejudiced vision.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

These discussions, selected because of their interest in connection with the topic of this issue, are presented for the use of individuals and of study groups.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

CÉCILE PILPEL, *Director*—JOSETTE FRANK, *Editor*

My thirteen-year-old son has a decided musical talent, which showed itself very early and which has developed steadily. His facility in piano playing is limited by his lack of concentrated study, but he takes great pleasure both from playing—mostly by ear—and from listening to music. He enjoys symphonies, the opera, and also popular music, especially jazz. Some members of the family urge us to make the most of his talent and develop it at all costs. His academic work is good; the school assures me he is above average in intelligence and should certainly go to college. My question is this: the boy will never be a great virtuoso, but I believe he could become a competent performer. In planning his life work, should we let him be influenced by his musical ability? And if so, what possibilities are there, aside from playing an instrument?

There are a few great geniuses in every field, and a vast number of moderately talented persons. Parents must guard against their own possible bias in being either for or against music as a professional pursuit, when the talent is not great enough to put the child in the highest rank of achievement. At what point a special ability is great enough to form the basis of a career is difficult to estimate; moreover, other factors enter into consideration, such as the attitude of the child toward his talent, his personality as a whole, his other interests, his opportunities for specialized study. Unless the talent is unmistakably outstanding, it should be utilized either as an enrichment of life or at most as an aid in finding a vocation. In the musical field, there are many new developments, of which the radio and music in connection with motion pictures are only two. Writers on musical subjects, music critics and reporters need a certain knowledge of the field. From your general description of the boy, it would seem wise to continue to foster his interest in music

and to keep his enjoyment of it alive. But he should, of course, go to college, preferably to a liberal arts college, where music is well established in cultural courses, orchestra, and glee club. If his ability grows as he develops, he will find some way to make use of his musical interest, though it may be purely avocational. In and of itself, the advantage of having an absorbing interest which can be pursued and enjoyed either alone or with others is very great.

A girl of fifteen has presented her parents and the vocational counselor in her high school with an unexpected problem.

Here is the picture: She is the oldest of three children, the others being seven and five. The mother is a normal school graduate and had been a teacher before her marriage. The father is a skilled mechanic, a foreman in a very large plant. But as he is now on part time, the family income is painfully limited. The elder daughter has always been a conspicuously brilliant student and will complete her high school course this June. The family cannot possibly send her to the state university as they had planned—at least not next year. The high school counselor has worked out a plan which both he and the parents think is an exceptionally promising compromise. He proposes that she work half-days as a laboratory assistant in the high school, for which she will receive a small wage. The chemistry and biology teachers have agreed to give her individual instruction; and in view of her cumulative record in high school, the state university is willing to give her advanced credits on the work so done, provided she passes special examinations they will set. She can thus earn some money toward college expenses the following year, as well as credits which may make it possible for one with her capacities to complete college in three years. To everyone's surprise, the girl so far refuses to consider the proposi-

tion. *She insists it's silly to talk of ever going to college, family finances being as they are, and that as soon as she finishes high school in June she's going to earn her own living.*

As in all questions of "guidance," this girl's own preferences and feelings must be regarded as one of the important factors. Her desire to shoulder some of the financial burdens of the family is not only commendable but natural and wholesome in a girl of this age. One of the shortcomings of our social and educational system today is that it supplies for young people all too few responsibilities of this kind under wholesome conditions.

It is important to ask, however, first, how real, practical, and concrete is her desire to quit her studies and find work. Is it more than a nebulous and idealistic notion of duty? Is she aware of actual openings? Has she plans which bid fair actually to net the family an additional income? And second, what are her personality qualifications for flinging herself, while still so young, into the mêlée of economic struggle? Does she possess the sturdiness and level-headedness which make it likely that she will land on her feet? Has she sufficient aggression and resourcefulness to climb the ladder? No one can definitely answer these questions, but those who know her well will probably have a shrewd idea of how they might be answered. There are certain individuals who, though academically brilliant, are immature socially and emotionally and can make little headway in the ordinary struggles of life. Or they may be highly specialized in their capacities and do well only in an academic setting. These people will need to face the realities of their own personalities. But if she really has her feet on the ground, there seems little to be lost and much gained, not only in dollars and cents, but in character development by letting her go ahead—and Godspeed! Such a girl can, if circumstances or her own inner needs change with the years, return to college with that advantage of experience and maturity so often and so sadly lacking in most students. Meanwhile, her parents will do well to refrain from vain repinings for lost academic honors—while privately they resolve to keep that door open, should she wish to return.

What can we, as parents, do to help a boy of nineteen get a toe-hold in a job which may lead to his earning a living some day? He is a high school graduate, seems to have average intelligence, but no special bents or strong desires. From the undoubtedly prejudiced point of view of a mother, I

would say that he is nice looking and has a certain charm of manner; he is direct and decent, though somewhat young for his age in interests and outlook. It has not seemed to us or to the principal of the high school that he is sufficiently gifted academically to warrant our making the very real sacrifice involved in sending him to college. Moreover, he himself is eager to get to work—if we knew toward what or where to turn.

It would seem that this is just the kind of boy most likely to profit by the guidance resulting from vocational tests. What parents can do to find out about these tests and arrange for the examination is described on page 185 of this issue. I would strongly urge your seeking just the guidance which is offered by such testing, in spite of the possible difficulties in locating competent agencies. Certainly the procedure can do him no harm, and it is more than likely that your problem can be narrowed down to certain fields. Many parents probably fear that these tests will be cut-and-dried in their approach, and the boy himself may dread being urged to pursue an occupation which does not attract him. Both fears, I believe, are unfounded. The trained and skilful examiner will consider not only the particular skills and aptitudes of the boy but also his temperamental characteristics, his own desires, and his social adaptability. The estimate of his teachers and parents concerning these things is considered along with the tests, as are also the standards and traditions of the individual family.

The question of where the boy may get a toe-hold in a job will be facilitated if the field is more clearly mapped out through such an appraisal. Moreover, the boy's own realization of his aptitudes may enable him to seek a job with greater confidence.

My dear Mrs. ———:

Although I'm a stranger to you I'm taking the liberty of writing to you at the suggestion of Miss ———, the professor of economics at ——— College, from which I was graduated last June. She is not only the best teacher I ever had but a "swell guy." And so when she told me about your work and that you might be able to give some good advice to a young fellow "alone in the big city," I gathered up courage to bore you with my personal problem. Here's my story in a nutshell:

My father is an old-style college professor in a small Mid-western sectarian college. My first break from home was when I refused to go to the home town

college and went to —, where I earned part of my expenses in the usual campus odd jobs. My mother decided I was a budding lawyer when I was still in dresses. I didn't wake up from that dream until after I'd left home. She has never been reconciled to my "giving up the law," but my father's regret is mitigated by his relief at the prospect of having me off his hands sooner, financially. When I went home last June I found he'd "make a place for me" as a junior instructor (at next to nothing a year) in his own department, history. He was shocked that I didn't jump at the job, times being what they are. He magnanimously offered to keep the job open for me a year, on the stipulation that he would not contribute a penny to my support in the meantime. If I didn't like my home town and the security he offered, I'd have to strike out on my own—and see how I liked it.

I'd gone in for journalism in college and my private ambition was to be a newspaper man. So I started out with fifty dollars (commencement gifts

from two aunts). I hitch-hiked from one town to another all summer. I didn't find a single newspaper that would have me, but I did work—as a cherry-picker, as a machine-tender in an optical plant, and as a section-manager in a small-town ten-cent store. The cherries were seasonal; from the other two jobs I was fired—with few regrets on my part and none on my employers'. In November I landed in New York, dead broke. Through pull (an old friend of my mother's had an editor-husband) I got a job as copy boy on a morning paper. At first I thought my ship had come in and my ambitions of being a newspaper man were not too far fetched after all. All I needed to do was to work hard, make good, etc., etc.

But here's what the picture is after three months. I work six nights a week for fifteen dollars—carrying copy, running out for cigarettes and sandwiches, answering phones. I live in a three-dollar-a-week room. It hasn't any heat and it's so small I have to move the bed to open the dresser drawers. Lately some neces-

(Continued on page 189)

Suggestions for Study: Vocational Guidance—Toward What?

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE—FOR WHOM?

The child with no special "calling" or talent
The child with a particular interest
The child with uneven abilities
The child whose abilities and interests do not conform with the family pattern

2. VOCATIONS AND HUMAN TALENTS

No necessary correlation between talents and socially needed services
No necessary correlation between a child's ambitions and his abilities
The need to discover new ways of doing useful things
The need to follow as well as to lead
Social change and the elimination of some occupations to make way for new ones

3. VOCATIONAL TESTS

Tests of general intelligence indicate the limits of possible achievement
Aptitude tests for special fields
Personality tests in relation to emotional adjustment

2. If it could be done, should every high school child be studied with regard to vocational fitness?

3. An exceptionally intelligent girl of seventeen has always wanted to be a nurse, and in spite of her family's skepticism, has persevered in her desires. What avenues could be opened to her which might utilize her interest and be more in keeping with the family pattern?

4. Is there a possible disadvantage in too early vocational guidance and advice? At what age should tests be made?

5. A young man of twenty-four has changed his line of work three times since leaving college. His father fears he will become a "rolling stone." What are the advantages and dangers of such experimentation?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. A high school in a large city wants to organize a vocational guidance service. How should this service be set up, in reference to: personnel; tests; other facilities?

REFERENCE READING

For books on this subject, see the discussion of *Vocational Guidance by the Book* on page 181, and the list which follows it.

Vocational Guidance by the Book

JOSETTE FRANK

VOCATIONAL guidance there has always been—of a sort. But the recognition of vocational guidance as a specialized procedure, as a necessary corollary to any program of education, has been comparatively recent. Along with this recognition there has grown up, over a period of years, a special literature concerning itself with various aspects of vocational choice and of educational guidance looking toward such choice.

The literature of vocational guidance falls into two categories addressed, respectively, to the guiders and the guided. Among the "guiders" may be counted teachers and school heads, vocational counselors and placement workers in schools, colleges, and social groups, personnel workers in industry and business, and parents. The "guided" are the future workers of the world, young people ranging from junior high school entrants to college seniors and beyond.

For the first of these categories there is a large body of published material addressed either to school administrators and other persons concerned with education, or to business executives and personnel workers. Because the development of vocational guidance was, in its pioneer days, vague and uncertain, it was to be expected that its earliest literature should be largely in the nature of special pleading, designed to arouse those in authority to the need for and the potential benefits of such efforts.

Two decades ago books on vocational guidance dealt largely with the organization and administration of guidance programs. This type of literature was suitably climaxed by the publication, in 1932, of the survey report of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. The very fact that this conference found it possible and desirable to publish a volume on *Vocational Guidance: Principles and Practice* attests to the national acceptance of vocational guidance in principle and the growth of its practice. The conference committee accepted as a preliminary basis for its study the following definitions, formulated over a period of ten years by the National Vocational Guidance Association:

"Vocational guidance is the process of assisting the individual to choose an occupation, prepare for it, enter upon and progress in it. As preparation for an occupation involves decisions in the choice of studies, choice of curriculum, and the choice of schools and colleges, it becomes evident that vocational guidance cannot be separated from educational guidance. . . .

"As vocational guidance and vocational education are linked together in many minds, a statement of this relationship may clarify the situation. Vocational education is the giving of training to persons who desire to work in a specific occupation. Vocational guidance offers information and assistance which lead to the choice of an occupation and the training which precedes it."

The conference further predicates its findings on the Association's statement of principles: "The underlying principles which govern vocational guidance activities are based upon the recognition of individual differences, of the complexity of modern occupational life, of the right of the individual to make his own choices, and upon the realization that the adjustment of an individual to his occupation is an ever changing situation."

The volume presents a most encouraging quantitative survey of the programs now being carried forward in the United States for children of elementary and high school age; it does not include college programs. Vocational counseling is seen as a broad guidance opportunity, not to be confined to vocational purposes:

"Counseling in its broadest sense may be thought of as an endeavor to help boys and girls make the educational, personal, and social adjustments within the school community that will best prepare them to effect desirable vocational, personal, and social adjustments when they become a more definite part of the larger community. The vocational counselor's province is to help all of these young people to discover their special interests and abilities, and in the light of these to assist them to make the most satisfactory educational and vocational plans, ever mindful of the value of a broad and flexible plan which may develop as the child's outlook grows and as he desires to broaden his choice in the future."

As to parents and their part in guiding their children's vocational choices, the report takes only negative cognizance: "Parents often contribute to this waste by their indifference to their children's needs and their failure to recognize their abilities, or, if ambitious for

them, they overestimate the significance of childish activities or preferences. Others put undue emphasis upon income and urge employment which gives immediate money return. Still others emphasize occupations that promise advancement in the social scale or put pressure on a child to enter an occupation that carries on a family tradition, though neither inclination nor talent may warrant it. Some parents arbitrarily choose an occupation for their child and consummate plans without considering his preferences or fitness. Another common error is failure to recognize the rate of development of the child, its significance in his adjustment to the requirements of the school, and its effect upon his immediate and future vocational outlook."

Yet despite the tendency of writers and workers in vocational guidance to place upon parents a heavy share of responsibility for much false guidance, there is a conspicuous dearth of any helpful literature addressed to parents on this subject. Granting that parents play a most important role in their children's vocational choices, where are they to go for that enlightenment which might help them to guide young people more intelligently?

It is true that in the special literature of parent education and mental hygiene the question of vocational guidance is considered in its broad relationships and that psychoanalytic literature also contains many significant references to the vocational aspects of life. If they have facilities and time for wide reading in these fields, parents may learn what are helpful attitudes, or, at least, learn to avoid unhelpful ones. But for more specific and direct aid in the task of guiding their children toward sound vocational choices parents will have to search patiently, and not very fruitfully, in the special literature of the subject.

Parents who may be interested in discovering and evaluating what professional aids are available to their children within the educational system will find information on these questions in such technical studies as Ruth Strang's *Personal Development and Guidance in College and Secondary School*. Although this study is intended primarily as information and stimulation for guidance workers in educational programs, its evaluation of methods and techniques (including some much disputed tests) is valuable to all who are concerned with the vocational direction of young people—and this inevitably includes parents.

The aims and techniques of planned individual guidance in the schoolroom—a large program in which vocational guidance is only one part—is presented in *Principles of Guidance*, by Arthur J. Jones, and *Education as Guidance*, by John M. Brewer.

These books are representative of a large number of texts addressed primarily to school administrators and guidance workers, which are of interest to parents only as they picture desirable procedure in a few schools.

Much less academic than these studies, and hence more inviting to the general reader, is Angus Macrae's stimulating study of *Talents and Temperaments*. It is outstanding as the *only* volume on this subject which specifically addresses itself to parents. In his preface the author writes:

"The art of vocational guidance cannot easily be learned from books—certainly not from a book of the dimensions of the present volume. I claim to have written no more than a short introduction to the subject. My primary aim has been to serve the growing body of inquirers—teachers, social workers, and parents—who wish to be told briefly and simply what methods are being used, and what results have been achieved, in this new field of applied psychology."

The book is a discussion—concise, thoughtful, straightforward—of the current theories and methods of vocational guidance. The author surveys and clarifies the tests in common use, pointing out at once their values and their limitations; the relation of special abilities to occupations; the bearing of emotional and personality make-up upon occupational fitness; and the light thrown by psychoanalysis and mental hygiene upon the whole problem of occupational choice and success. He assesses the contribution of the parent, the teacher, the doctor, and the psychologist, and concludes that no one of these can work without the others in the vocational guidance of a child. Of the parents' contribution he writes:

"In general, parents are not good judges of the intelligence of their offspring. Their deficiency in this respect is usually attributed to prejudice, as if an unbiased estimate were necessarily a true estimate. But prejudice certainly plays its part. The normal parent hopes that his child will be clever and successful, and the wish is often father to the thought. Sometimes the most highly intelligent of parents remain strongly blind to deficiencies which are obvious even to the casual observer. . . . Nevertheless, the intelligence test is not so infallible an instrument that the psychologist may safely ignore the observations of those who have been intimately associated with the child; and facts reported by the parent may be of definite value by corroborating, and occasionally by correcting, the estimate provided by the test."

Discussing the frequent discrepancy between the teachers' estimates and test results concerning a given pupil's intelligence, Mr. Macrae points out that "there is a very real danger that the teacher's estimate may be biased by the nature of the pupil's scholastic achieve-

ment, which, since it depends on a number of things, is not a very reliable criterion of anything. Nevertheless, it is in the estimation of moral and social qualities that the teacher can give most assistance. He has the great advantage of being able to observe how the pupil behaves, not only as an individual, but also as a member of the group. But there are cases in which his judgment of intelligence is also of great value."

The same author, in another little book, *The Case for Vocational Guidance*, again displays a fine appreciation of the "springs of human conduct" as these motivate choice of occupation. Discussing the validity of the usual "reasons" given for children's choices, he writes:

"It is quite wrong to assume that a child who desires to follow a particular calling must be able to furnish a logical justification of this desire. His choice may have been mainly a matter of *feeling*, and logic may have entered into it very little indeed. . . . It is not difficult to see how a young person's vocational desires and aversions may be connected with his instinctive tendencies. An individual in whom the protective instinct is strongly developed may be drawn to occupations such as those of the shepherd, the nurse, and the teacher. Another, possessed of a marked instinct of self-display, may be prompted to adopt a career on the theatrical stage. Another, relatively weak in the gregarious and self-assertive instincts, may loathe the intercourse of the market-place and seek the comparative seclusion of the office or the laboratory. Probably most vocational choices are influenced, at least to some extent, by impulses of this kind. . . . But these strong vocational inclinations cannot be explained simply by reference to inborn dispositions. *Acquired* tendencies, built up on the native groundwork of instinct by the influences of the social environment, are also of much importance."

With equal insight the author then discusses the psychological factors of occupational maladjustment and suggests ways to guidance. Parents and teachers will find Mr. Macrae's two books really vital and stimulating.

Another helpful focusing of the mental hygiene approach upon problems of vocational guidance appeared in a symposium, *Mental Hygiene and Guidance*, edited by Dr. George K. Pratt, Dr. Ira S. Wile, and Dr. Frank J. O'Brien, in the November, 1934, issue of *Occupations*. This monthly, usually directed to specialists in vocational guidance and personnel work, here enlarges its scope of reader interest to present for all who may be concerned (and this surely includes parents and teachers) a composite of today's vanguard thinking on this subject. The titles in this issue are significant: "Rats or

Humans?" "Seeing the Individual Whole," "A Mental Hygienist Looks at Guidance," "How They Choose Vocations," "Mental Hygiene in Secondary Schools," and "Mental Hygiene in Colleges."

Along with all this effort to guide the "guiders" there is also an increasing literature addressed directly to the "guided." Much of this, unfortunately, is poor. Too many of those who would inform youth still adhere to traditional fairy tales as to the "selflessness" of work, platitudes as to the straight road to success. The "opportunities for everyone" myth is carried by one writer to the extent of pointing out that what the Pilgrims did at Plymouth in 1620 "any young people" could do today, since land in that vicinity can still be purchased at from five to ten dollars an acre! Many of these books show a lack of appreciation of the psychological factors governing choice which all but vitiates their earnest efforts to be helpful.

There are, however, a number of good textbooks intended for use in occupational courses in high school or college. In his recent high school text, *I Find My Vocation*, Harry D. Kitson does a service in pointing out the fact, too often ignored in similar texts, that there is need for flexibility: "The occupations themselves are constantly changing, and by the time the individual is twenty-four there may be new occupations but nobody to fill them."

For college courses in vocations, such a textbook as *Principles and Methods of Vocational Choice*, by Maurice J. Neuberg, may also prove helpful, especially since it offers excellent bibliographies, both for general reading and specialized by occupations. The Department of Personnel Study of Yale University has published a most helpful book for college students, *The Choice of an Occupation*. Here is a comprehensive compendium of information concerning some seventy occupational fields—the necessary qualifications and preparation for entering each, the opportunities and remuneration to be hoped for, and the disadvantages. In its introductory chapters the book attacks such popular fallacies as "the perfect niche" and "occupational labels."

"If there is a perfect niche for anyone it is created by his own growth. As he develops or shrinks, it expands or contracts, and when, if ever, he has fitted himself into it satisfactorily it may bear very little resemblance indeed to its former shape and size. To fill it exactly and permanently denotes the end of ambition and growth. One reason why this theory of the

(Continued on page 190)

In the Magazines

Wheat and Chaff in Vocational Guidance. By Henry C. Link. *Occupations*, October, 1934.

A challenge to guidance which is directed toward the choice of a specific occupation, and a plea for high school and college counseling which starts with the individual, his abilities and aptitudes.

Vitalizing Vocational Information in College. By Donald H. Moyer. *Occupations*, December, 1934.

An account of the vocational counseling and follow-up procedure at Harvard. Samples of the "biographies" in questionnaire form which are filled out by recent graduates are given with their answers, and the significance of these answers is discussed.

Jobs for College Men. By R. S. Uhrbrock. *Occupations*, January, 1935.

A detailed discussion by a business man of the factors which count in getting a job, particularly the technique of interviewing prospective employers.

Ideas Get the Job. By John R. Tunis. *Reader's Digest*, January, 1935. (Condensed from *Review of Reviews*.)

Anyone seeking a job has a much better chance of obtaining one if he can go to his interview prepared with ideas which would improve the business of the company with which he is seeking employment. The article contains many anecdotes illustrating this point.

Guidance Through Doing. By L. O. Brockmann. *Occupations*, February, 1935.

An account of the vocational guidance system in the high schools in Lewistown, Montana. The students "spend three hours a day five days a week in some store, shop, or office, receiving school credit for their experience and training in these practical activities." The students also enroll in a social economy course in school "which is designed to provide a general background in economics, industrial history, sociology, and current problems." The experience thus gained is of inestimable value in determining aptitudes and future training, as various incidents described in the article vividly illustrate.

The New Grandmother. By Dorothy Canfield. *Delineator*, January, 1935.

One woman's reflections on the past—and future.

What a High I. Q. Means. By Winifred Bain. *The Parents' Magazine*, February, 1935.

An account of the history and methods of intelligence tests, with discussions of the ways of determining "mental age" and "intelligence quotients," and the meaning of these terms.

Homework Blues. By Marion M. Miller. *Delineator*, February, 1935.

Homework should be considered as a "connecting link between home and school," and not as an unnecessary burden. Parents should realize that routine memory work and elementary research can be done better and with more profit at home. The correct time and place for study should be arranged by parents, who should also keep in touch with what is happening in the classroom; teachers should understand that "the assignment of homework is a highly skilled aspect of teaching," and follow up the assignments after they are given; and pupils should understand that "homework is an important and essential part of a well integrated school life."

The Social Life of the School Child. By Ernest R. Groves. *The National Parent-Teacher Magazine*, February, 1935.

A discussion of the place of clubs and of evening engagements in the child's life. The advantages of clubs for various types of children are clearly shown.

Fathers Who Were Parents. By Florence M. Hornback. *The Franciscan*, October, November, December, 1934, January, 1935.

A series of four articles, each telling the story of a Catholic father who participated actively in the training and development of his children. The growth of children based on accepted psychological data in a Catholic environment is clearly shown.

Adopted Mother. Anonymous. *Reader's Digest*, February, 1935. (Condensed from *Scribner's*.)

An account "by a woman with a houseful of children, only one of whom is her own," of her reasons for adopting children, her relationship with them and theirs with each other and with her own child, and her reasons for having an adopted child know from the beginning that he is adopted.

News and Notes

Where can young people and their parents go for vocational counseling and vocational testing?

In spite of the growing realization that these services are vitally needed and should be freely and easily available everywhere, there is no guidebook or directory which gives this information for the whole country. There are, however, a number of organizations which offer such services. Secondary schools and local boards of education should, of course, be the first and most accessible source of such guidance. This is a reality in some communities; in others, lack of vision or lack of money makes it still a dream. Many colleges also offer their students vocational guidance, though the character and quality of this guidance vary from college to college.

If the educational institutions with which young people have contact do not prove sufficiently helpful, there are some other possibilities. Certain social agencies and philanthropic institutions conduct or cooperate in employment services of various kinds. In New York City, for instance, the *Directory of Social Agencies* includes a listing on Employment and Vocational Guidance Bureaus, compiled by the Vocational Guidance and Employment Section of the Welfare Council, which covers the "employment resources provided by non-profit-making employment bureaus, both adult and junior." The Vocational Service for Juniors, which at the request of the Welfare Council maintains an Employment and Training Information Service, also conducts a Junior Consultation Service for boys and girls between fifteen and twenty, in cooperation with the Junior Division of the State Employment Service. Young people may come to its offices, at 124 East 28th Street, for vocational testing and guidance, both on the recommendation of schools or other agencies or on their own initiative. Its services are free. This service has been in existence a little less than a year and already it is overcrowded with applicants.

Among the local agencies—about seventy-five—which are included in this list are a number of organizations which offer similar services in other cities; these include the New York State Department of

Labor, the Y. M. and Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. and Y. W. H. A., the Boys' Clubs of America, the Girls' Service League of America, and others. (In New York City the West Side Y. M. C. A. offers an outstanding service, but it is not open to juniors or to women.) The most helpful leads for parents in other communities would seem to be to consult the local school board, the state department of labor, community social agencies, and the local branches of various youth organizations.

In addition to these, there are also two organizations which offer consultant services on a fee basis, and provide vocational testing and counseling based on sound psychological principles and techniques for those who can afford to take advantage of them. These are the Human Engineering Laboratory and the Psychological Corporation. The former is conducted at Stevens Institute in Hoboken, New Jersey, under the direction of Johnson O'Connor. The latter carries on a Psychological Service Center with headquarters in New York and three hundred and fifty professional psychologists throughout the country. This organization, headed by Dr. Paul S. Achilles, is staffed and equipped to provide "advisory service to individuals and schools on children's behavior and educational problems; diagnosis of special aptitudes, scholastic, mechanical, musical, etc.; analysis of special difficulties in school subjects and their correction; vocational counseling for young people and adults; and counseling on personal problems of adults." For additional information regarding its services and fees, consult the Headquarters at 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Certain industries and businesses also offer vocational guidance. Although designed to serve a special purpose, this may prove very helpful not only in discovering whether the applicant is likely to find a suitable opening in the particular organizations, but also in suggesting where his weaknesses and strengths lie, and what other fields he might profitably investigate.

The National Occupational Conference, of which Dr. Franklin J. Keller is Director, is prepared to assist school authorities in setting up guidance programs and frequently recommends vocational counseling

experts to schools in many parts of the country. It is now conducting a study of what is being done in vocational counseling on the college level, and the findings of this study will probably be published upon completion. The Council has available a great deal of information about the nation's resources for counseling. But it points out that in the present state of the whole movement it is difficult, if not impossible, to publish a survey, due to the still existing lack of understanding as to the high qualifications needed by really well equipped counselors. For more detailed information, consult the offices at 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.

In the last analysis, the responsibility still rests with the individual. The young person and his parents can get help from certain agencies; but, except perhaps where schools offer really adequate guidance, the initiative must still come from them. The more urgently young people and those interested in them demand these services, the more pressure they bring to bear on school and community authorities the sooner vocational guidance will become generally available.

Junior High School Conference The Eleventh Annual Junior High School Conference, which will meet in New York March 8 and 9, will discuss: Junior High School Pupils—How Can They Achieve Democracy? The conference is sponsored by New York University and its meetings will be held at the School of Education Building. A complete program may be secured from John Carr Duff, the director of the conference.

Safety Education in the Home and on the Job Last year in the home, usually regarded as a safe place, 33,000 fatalities resulted from accidents. This figure is almost as high as the death toll from street accidents, which totaled 35,500. The Greater New York Safety Conference—to be held March 5-7 at the Hotel Pennsylvania—will devote special attention to everyday accidents and their prevention in the home. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, Director, Child Study Association, will be chairman of a session on Home Safety, on Wednesday, March 6, at 2:15 p.m. In this session Mrs. B. F. Langworthy, President of National Congress of Parents and Teachers, will point out in her address the far-reaching effects of home accidents, their high cost from

an economic and social point of view, and will explain how the safe home is essential for the happiness and well-being of the family. Following her, Katherine Fisher, Director of Good Housekeeping Institute, will give a demonstration of practical safety devices for the prevention of home accidents. The final address, to be given by Dr. Martha E. Eliot, Assistant Chief, United States Children's Bureau, will be devoted primarily to the needs of cooperation between the school and the home in the child's educational training in safety. It is worthy to note here that since 1922, the year when systematic work in Safety Education was begun, accidental deaths of children has declined twelve per cent, whereas accidental deaths of adults increased forty-two per cent. In some cities where Safety Education has become incorporated in the schools, the reduction in child fatalities has been as high as fifty per cent.

Another session, under the Chairmanship of Morris E. Siegel, Director of Evening and Continuation Schools of New York City, will be devoted to the program of Safety Education in Vocational and Continuation Schools, where the pupil may learn the practical application of safety in the work he is learning. More and more it is being realized that accidents in industries are often caused by emotional strain, either caused by personal or home misfortunes and worries, or by some disquieting factor in the work surroundings. A session on New Jobs will discuss what can be done to insure new employes of the ease and confidence necessary to careful and safe operation of machinery.

The meetings are open to the public without charge. Detailed programs and cards of admission may be secured from the Greater New York Safety Conference, 9 East 41st Street, New York.

Two Conferences on Education in a Changing World The profound concern of educational leaders as to the function of the school in a time of rapid social change is evidenced in the programs of two important conferences which were held late in February. The Progressive Education Association met in Washington, D. C., February 21-23, and the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association held its sixty-fifth Annual Convention in Atlantic City, February 23-28. In addition to the ever-present questions of educational method and technique, both these conferences were significantly keyed to the broader problems of edu-

cational goals in relation to presentday needs and conditions. Education, as reflected in these meetings, is keenly aware that it cannot remain untouched by such vital issues as freedom of speech, peace versus armament, and social-economic reorganization.

The Progressive Education Conference included a number of sectional meetings on various special phases of education, such as the arts—dancing, music, literature, the theater; the social sciences at various school levels; and the place of psychological tests and records in a school program. There were also sessions on character education, community schools, rural education, and the unified purposes of home and school. In addition to these, the general meetings were devoted to the larger implications of presentday education. The session on Youth and Education included discussions of future possibilities for American community life, and what is meant by “conscripting education for a better America;” that on International and Interracial Education included a discussion of education for disarmament and world peace. Under the topic The Educator in a Planned Society were included discussions of the importance of economic planning and of the essentials of economic planning. Among the speakers at the various sessions were: Willard W. Beatty, the Honorable Gerald P. Nye, Louis Adamic, Goodwin Watson, Mary Dabney Davis, Lois Hayden Meek, Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Alfons Goldschmidt, Mary Van Kleeck, Charles M. Beard, and William H. Kilpatrick.

The convention of the Department of Superintendence included a number of forum discussions on such topics as The Place of the Federal Government in the Support of Education, Personnel Research and Education, Trends in Expansion of the Educational Program (parental, preschool, and post-graduate), Making the Social Studies a Living Experience in Citizenship, and Trends in Character Training as a Basic Factor in Developing a Citizenship Program. But perhaps the most significant meeting was the general session on Social Change and Education, at which the discussion was based on the *Thirteenth Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence. This yearbook attempts to analyze the part which education must play in the redirection of American life. It faces frankly the fact that there is at present no agreement on such fundamental questions as: Shall the school be deliberately made an instrument of social change? If so, who shall choose its objec-

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tives? If not, how shall the school remain neutral in the world of social forces? A sharp divergence of opinion characterized both the year-long deliberations of the eleven educators who collaborated on the year-book, and also the discussion meeting. Although no final answers to such profound questions can be given, the varied social philosophies which must be considered were clearly presented by outstanding educators and leaders of public thought, including Charles M. Beard, Stuart Chase, Arthur E. Morgan, Charles E. Merriam, Lotus B. Coffman, Glenn Frank, and others.

Emergency Aids in Education Service projects under the Works Division of the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City have given employment to thirty thousand men and women with professional background and provided educational and recreational opportunities for children who are suffering from the effects of the depression upon family life. In a recent report, Grace Gosselin, Assistant Director of the Works Division, points out that "At relatively low cost to the taxpayer, necessary work of inestimable social value is being done which could not have possibly been done otherwise, because no funds were available." The work of the service projects begins with very small children. Eighteen nursery schools for children of from two to four years of age are being operated by relief workers. The schools are in congested neighborhoods and the children come from families receiving home relief or with only one parent at work. Doctors, nurses, and nutritionists are included in the staff. There is an all-day program based on regular nursery school procedure. In addition, parents are brought in for meetings and talks, and through their contacts with the teachers are learning more about the care of their children. Much of this work, undertaken as an emergency measure, will probably prove its worth and be continued when the emergency is past.

Helping the Maladjusted High School Student A school system geared primarily to the normal child, and unable—largely through lack of funds and personnel—to function for the good of the exceptional or the maladjusted child, has been enabled, through cooperation with the New York City relief administration, to give tremendously augmented assistance to boys and girls with physical defects or other handicaps. A survey of this remedial school

project recently has been made public by William Hodson, Commissioner of Public Welfare and Chairman of the Emergency Relief Bureau.

In addition to providing daily lunches to eighty thousand children who show more or less serious signs of malnutrition, and to making special educational facilities available for children who suffer from various physical defects, the project offers special guidance to children who are considered "behavior problems." One of the most needed phases of the work with "problem children" is that being undertaken in the high schools, where the depression has made the problem of maladjustment particularly acute. Mr. Hodson's report points out that:

"Children who would, under ordinary circumstances, have been absorbed in trade and business, have returned to school for lack of anything else to do. Their attendance, without the usual motivation for continuing in high school, creates problems of administration as well as of finance. By the adjustment service in the secondary schools, an attempt is being made to analyze the causes for retardation and maladjustment in the high schools. As a result of this analysis, attempts will be made to adjust teaching experimentally to various special needs. From this, it is expected, may arise new diagnostic and remedial techniques for the teaching of secondary school subjects.

"This is the first project undertaken by the Emergency Relief Bureau in the high school division, co-operating with the Board of Education in a real attempt to apply psychological study to individual problems in the high school field. The project is under the direction of Dr. Frederick Ernst, and the records obtained of students who are examined will be used as a basis for sending pupils either to a psychologist or psychiatrist for additional study and recommendation as to treatment and teaching."

Adult Education Conference The Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Association for Adult Education will be held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 20-22.

There will be sessions on public schools as adult education centers, adult education in rural communities, adult education under public auspices, vocational education and adjustment for adults, rural library service, avocational interests of adults, training community leaders and other topics. Representatives of organizations with adult education programs and all others interested are invited.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

(Continued from page 180)

sary dental work and the absolute need of buying a new suit have cut out any spending money and most of my meals. I patronize the "coffee pots" and other hang-outs of taxi-drivers. I've seen everything in New York that's free and in walking distance, but I haven't a dime for a picture-show. Moreover, a certain amount of research convinces me that no copy boy ever rose to be editor (as I fondly imagined) and only one in a thousand to be a reporter.

The question is—shall I stick on that chance in a thousand; or shall I eat humble pie, and return home to take up my father's offer? Or what?

Although this letter is a human document, which can—and will—be answered only by a personal effort to guide the writer through his present perplexities, it is included here because it offers an unusually telling example of a problem that seemingly lies in the vocational field, but actually represents a rather acute difficulty within the individual's own personality. We all know how easy it is to project inner conflicts and unconsciously to make outer circumstance the scapegoat for our troubles. The tone of this letter is tinged with this kind of bitterness. It is difficult to accept the picture of the parents, as sketched; for when he speaks of being fired "with few regrets on my part and none on my employers'," we see his contacts with the outside world colored with the same pervading attitude. His emotional immaturity is manifested by the fact that he has had to seek guidance chiefly from women, and by his naive assumption of a rapid rise to stardom in the newspaper field and his consequent disappointment. He bemoans the fact that he has no money for a movie; many a more aggressive youth has broken into print by making copy out of the very experience of grappling with life, which this boy is still afraid to face. It is extremely important for his future development that he find the help he needs, in order that he may become well enough adjusted to know what it is he really wants to do, instead of subjecting himself to continuous frustrations arising out of his inner unsolved conflicts.

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Vocational Guidance by the Book

(Continued from page 183)

perfect niche is fallacious, then, lies in the changing nature and development of individuals. Shifting interests and hobbies, family obligations, economic upheaval, and other factors which may affect a man's destiny cannot be foretold by charts and tables.

"For these reasons, an individual's approach to the important problem of choosing a career cannot be made in the seemingly obvious way. No one can tell positively whether a given student should enter banking, manufacturing, or the law, because those occupational terms indicate little as to the ways in which his relative individual capabilities can be estimated. Individual differences in ability for one or another kind of work do exist. Nevertheless, the most appropriate means of analyzing these differences in people do not also apply effectively to the analysis of entire occupations."

While this book is intended for college men, some parts of it would constitute useful information for college women as well. There are, too, a number of books addressed especially to girls—books somewhat more journalistic than scholarly in their approach. *The Girl and Her Future*, by Helen Hoerle, and *Jobs for Girls*, by Hazen Rawson Cades each offer some excellent common sense advice and suggestions. No small part of their service lies in their recapitulation of the kinds of jobs there are for girls in a wide and imaginative sampling. But both of these books, like others of their kind, sin in being superficial, in ignoring the deep-rooted and fundamental drives which motivate human conduct and which must, in the final analysis, determine choice, success or failure. For example, to be a detective, Miss Hoerle says, a girl must have "an analytical mind, fearlessness, good eyesight, and keen hearing, trustworthiness, and initiative." Is that all, one wonders?

Somewhat more discerning is *Careers Ahead*, by Joseph Cottler and Harold Brecht. In this book, addressed to boys and girls of the junior high school age, the young reader is helped to glimpse the actual work of some sixty occupations—professional and industrial—to "watch the wheels go 'round." It is a book of information and suggestion rather than "advice," and is enlivened by graphic photographs of people "on the job"—a pleasant relief from the unalluring, dull cuts which usually illustrate job books.

Throughout all of this literature there is a startling tendency to ignore the present situation of unemployment and occupational change, to treat it as

though it were temporary and fleeting, and to nail up the tattered ensign of "business as usual." The youth leaving school or college today, one fancies, will find scant practical use for precepts predicated on the experience of a passing order. Nor will he be comforted by the increasing appearance of a whole new literature concerned with the juvenile vagrant problem, though some of these may be helpful to their elders, in facing the problem of unemployed youth. Taken as a whole, the literature of vocational guidance leaves many questions unanswered—questions which only an awakening of social consciousness can answer.

Choosing a Career, received after this article had gone to press, should also be mentioned. This is a compilation, edited by George Bijur, of the addresses given at the first "Choosing-a-Career Conference" held under the auspices of the Bamberger Foundation in June, 1934. Addressed to young people, it includes thirty discussions by specialists in various lines, and an appendix on "How to Get a Job." The emphasis is on business—from advertising to shipping—and on the arts in business—from commercial photography to the theater—rather than on such strictly professional vocations as the law or medicine.

BOOKS ON VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

CAREERS AHEAD

By Joseph Cottler and Harold Brecht.
Little, Brown, and Co. 312 pp. 1933

THE CASE FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

By Angus Macrae. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons. 92 pp. 1934

THE CHOICE OF AN OCCUPATION

Ed. by Albert Beecher Crawford and Stuart Holmes Clement.
Yale University. 495 pp. 1932

CHOOSING A CAREER

Edited by George Bijur. Farrar & Rinehart. 274 pp. 1934

EDUCATION AS GUIDANCE

By John M. Brewer. The Macmillan Co. 668 pp. 1933

THE GIRL AND HER FUTURE

By Helen Hoerle. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 361 pp. 1932

I FIND MY VOCATION

By Harry Dexter Kitson. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 216 pp. 1931

JOBS FOR GIRLS

By Hazel Rawson Cades. Harcourt Brace & Co. 208 pp. 1930

OUR CHILDREN, A HANDBOOK FOR PARENTS

Ed. by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie M. Gruenberg.
The Viking Press. 348 pp. 1932

Chapter XXV—Vocational Guidance in Practice Today
by Henry C. Link.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GUIDANCE IN COLLEGE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL

By Ruth Strang. Harper & Bros. 341 pp. 1934

PRINCIPLES OF GUIDANCE


By Arthur J. Jones. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 456 pp. 1934

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF VOCATIONAL CHOICE

By Maurice P. Newberg. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 302 pp. 1934

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF

SCHOOL CHILDREN AND COLLEGE STUDENTS
By Clare Menger. 5176 Raymond Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 188 pp. 1933




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TALENTS AND TEMPERAMENTS

By Angus Macrae. D. Appleton and Co. 211 pp. 1933

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE—PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

White House Conference Report. The Century Co. 396 pp. 1932

YOUTH NEVER COMES AGAIN

Edited by Clinch Calkins. Committee on Unemployed Youth. 71 pp. 1933

MENTAL HYGIENE AND GUIDANCE

A symposium edited by Frank J. O'Brien, George K. Pratt, and Ira S. Wile. OCCUPATIONS, November, 1934

WHAT IS AHEAD FOR YOUTH?

CHILD STUDY, February, 1935

See the bibliography of books given under the title *A Library on Occupational Adjustment*, in the February, 1935, issue of *Occupations*, the *Vocational Guidance Magazine*, published by the National Occupational Conference. Other bibliographies of books and pamphlets to serve many special needs may also be secured from the Conference, at 522 Fifth Avenue, New York.

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The Editors' Page



WHEN parents first began to suspect that children did not find the long school vacation an unmixed blessing, their reaction was commonly one of puzzled resentment. "In the good old summertime" of their own childhood there had been no problems, or at least none had been recognized. Why were things so different now—and so difficult? Children were still children; the seasons in their course had not altered. In the pioneer phase of organized recreation it was, therefore, necessary to point out again and again that it was the "times" that had changed, and that a summer—in which nothing to do and no place to go had become characteristic—was by so much a sheer loss in children's lives. Today the older arguments as to summer needs have already been fairly generally accepted. Our questions are no longer *why*, but *what* and *where* and *how*?

IF "MONEY were no object," what would be an ideal summer for a child of eight, or twelve, or sixteen? Are there possible benefits which neither the regular school nor the average home can offer? Would it be different for boys and girls, and if so how? How much work or other organized activity should be expected of a given child? How much "free time" should he have? Should all the emphasis be on outdoor living? Should the child spend the summer with his family? Should he participate in group activities during part of each day or week? Should he have opportunity for adventuring away from home?

BUT even assuming that we have a fairly clear picture of the kind of vacation a particular child needs, how can we provide it? Elaborate vacations are expensive, and relatively few parents can undertake their financial burden. How can worthwhile activities be brought within the range of the modest family's pocket-book? What agencies are attempting to provide such opportunities at low cost? What recreational resources are available in a given community? How can parents help to make the most of them to enrich their own, and other children's holidays?

AS A STEP toward helping parents answer these questions of *what* and *where* and *how*, CHILD STUDY publishes in this issue a brief survey of summer activities offered by a variety of organizations. Parents can help both to make the most of the opportunities now offered, and also to fill in the many still-existing gaps.

CHILD STUDY

A JOURNAL OF PARENT EDUCATION

VOL. XII

APRIL, 1935

No. 7

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CONTRIBUTORS

MR. FAUST is on the staff of the National Recreation Association. Descriptions of summer programs have been contributed by thirteen public and private agencies serving youth.

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THE FORECAST FOR MAY: Parents' Questions—This entire issue will be devoted to discussions of questions typical of those repeatedly asked by parents. It will include an article on "Parents' Questions and What They Mean," by Cécile Pilpel, and groups of questions on three universal phases of child training—Habit, Discipline and Authority, and Home and School Relationships. The issue is being edited by a committee of the Child Study Association staff.